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PARTY AND STATE

MISTAKES OF VICE MINISTER IN SWINDLE CASE REVIEWED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 82 pp 24, 25

[Article by staff reporter: "What Devil Drove Them Onto the Evil Path?-- Reading Notes on Coverage of the Case of Yang Yibang and His Comrades"]

[Text] The decision by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission for a further disposition of the case of Yang Yibang [2799 5030 6721] and his comrades has already been made public in the press. The reporters who began investigating and covering this case 2 years ago have not been permitted to draw a leisurely breath for a long time. This decision encouraged and educated people. And in itself this affair gives people cause for deep thought.

In the course of covering this case, we were often perplexed. What we felt we could not understand was: Why had Yang Yibang and his comrades committed such serious mistakes? The absurdity of these mistakes is simply inconceivable and hard for people to believe. Were they truly unavoidable? What devil drove them to tread this evil path and to obstinately stick to a wrong course for such a long time?

The mistakes committed by Yang Yibang and his comrades were really big.

Speaking only of their selling at a low price a batch of plastics and raw materials to a Hong Kong businessman, this brought others a profit of over \$750,000. And because that Hong Kong businessman sold in big quantities the batch of plastics and raw materials at a lower price than our foreign trade company, the company had no choice and was forced twice to lower its price and got \$480,000 less in income. Even some foreign businessmen indicated that they could not understand this, saying: "We never expected the China Plastics and Rubber Society to hurt or kill itself." The political and economic loss of this affair is incalculable.

What is more sacred than the state's honor, more valuable than its international prestige? But Yang Yibang and his comrades simply wanted to self-destruct this prestige. When the Yanshan Company was to sign a foreign trade contract with foreign businessmen, they, without the slightest necessity, asked that Hong Kong businessman to "witness" the signing. Why would a big, imposing state-run company of the PRC want a leather handbag merchant from Hong Kong to vouch for it?

Yang Yibang and his comrades gave a certain Ke [2688], the Hong Kong businessman, a letter of appointment as adviser to the Yanshan Company and credentials empowering him to represent the Beijing Engineering and Construction Company, thereby causing a sudden rise in the social status of this leather handbag merchant. Ke made big copies of his letter of appointment as an adviser and the credentials empowering him to be a representative and hung them in the offices of rich and profitable companies. He printed the two titles on his name card, and everywhere he went he boasted to people that he was a "representative of China" on a "special mission." In his status as an adviser and representative, he sent the equipment catalogues of Yanshan as well as other companies in Beijing to several dozens of well-known factories and companies in America, West Germany, France, Italy, and Japan. He also held talks on raising money by huge loans with big banks in some countries, making a hubbub and creating a sensation. In the words of a foreign newspaper, he stirred up a dazzling "whirlwind of wealth and profit." This "whirlwind" caused a loss to our country's honor and prestige that it should not have sustained.

In damaging our country's honor, the actions of Yang Yibang and his comrades not only shocked the people of our country but even dumbfounded foreigners. After Yang Yibang and his comrades went to Hong Kong, in order to seek loans in Japan and Western Europe, they time and again violated the regulations of the State Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by not going through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the relevant departments that handle foreign affairs to get visas for Ke to go to Japan and Belgium. When the personnel of the Japanese consulate in Hong Kong saw Yang Yibang's red passport they were astounded. They simply couldn't believe that a vice minister of the PRC would deal with the visa of a businessman. Some European banks also felt that it was an incomprehensively strange thing for a vice minister of the Chinese government to negotiate for huge loans, not through a Chinese embassy or a Chinese bank, but through an unknown Hong Kong businessman. Just as Comrade Tang Maozhao [0781 4243 0664], our ambassador in Belgium, pointed out: "Comrade Yang Yibang is a vice minister of the government and going abroad to raise funds is a serious act in foreign affairs and such a mission should be reported to the relevant departments and embassies ... and normally, the opinions of these departments should be sought." "They even went so far as to carry out such a major affair surreptitiously, outside normal channels and procedures, something which aroused a great deal of suspicion in China and abroad. This showed a total disregard for the country's honor." Our vice minister allowed himself to be ordered about and let another person flaunt a vice minister's banner in order to lend him impetus and strength--in reality this provided the other person with an out-and-out umbrella for carrying out his swindles and bluffs.

Were the serious mistakes of Yang Yibang and his comrades unavoidable? Of course not. Speaking of abiding by discipline, a party member must abide by party discipline and a citizen must abide by the law of the land--this is common knowledge. Our party has always been a party of strict discipline, and stressing discipline is a good tradition of our party. But Yang Yibang and his comrades were simply unwilling to abide by the bare minimum of discipline. How could this kind of mistake be unavoidable?

Was it that the deceptive methods employed by Shanghai businessman Ke were particularly brilliant? Was it that the swindles he set up were especially ingenious? No, it wasn't that at all.

Take an example at the end of 1978. This swindler sent a person to Beijing to submit a written statement to higher authorities, with the injunction "You can use my personal reputation (this is the wording of the original text, but it should be: personal "name") and say that a loan of \$50 billion to \$100 billion will be given to the Chinese government for part of the Chinese government's funds for its construction of the four modernizations." What was the cost? The only condition was that he get a commission of 2 percent. To grant a loan of \$100 billion is big talk. But anyone with a little knowledge of international credit could see that this would be contrary to reason, because: what does \$100 billion mean? At the present time, the funds in circulation in all of Europe only amount to about \$600 billion. Under normal circumstances, the amount any one financial group may lend cannot exceed 20 percent of its funds. At this loan rate, the total amount of loans that all of Europe would be able to make would not exceed \$120 billion. Ke said he could get China a loan of \$100 billion--was this believable?

As a matter of fact, before Ke sent people to Beijing he first sent people to Guangzhou as a maneuver, saying that they had the backing for a large international long-term loan, and wanted to invest in the construction in the country and also sought to obtain within the country a letter of authorization or a right of representation from the sides concerned. However, the unit concerned of Guangdong Province was not fooled. They adopted a prudent attitude and handled the matter in the regular fashion of Communist Party members, who investigate and study when anything crops up. After an investigation, they quickly ascertained that it was not worthwhile to hold talks with these people. When Ke sent people to Beijing to submit a written statement to higher authorities, a leading comrade unequivocally pointed out: "I regard these people as swindlers whose goal is the 2 percent commission." Afterward he said again: "I strongly suspect that this 'Hong Kong Leather Handbag Company' is rubbish." A leading comrade concerned with the State Planning Commission held one discussion with a person sent by Ke and received this impression: "I feel that what he said is incredible and unreliable"; "it looked like his background and these data were all big talk"; "his way of speaking was grandiose and the price he wanted was high" and "therefore, we paid no attention to him." In short, other comrades were not fooled; only Yang Yibang and his comrades were completely taken in by Ke.

We say that Ke was certainly not a brilliant swindler, and one proof of this is Ke's own "confession without duress." At the end of 1978, after he claimed to be the representative of a consortium that could provide a \$100 billion loan, on 20 January 1979 he went from Hong Kong to Beijing and proposed to Yang Yibang: "I don't have a name abroad so it will be hard to carry on my activities and I want you to give me the name of an adviser of the Yanshan Company." Wasn't this enough to show that he was nothing more than an agent for a leather handbag company? Hadn't he already voluntarily exposed his disguise and swindle?

If we were to say that the above-mentioned comrades are worthy of being high-ranking leaders with broad knowledge and wide experience, then they would be able to see through at a glance that this was a swindle; the vigilance of comrades in Guangdong who are close to Hong Kong and Macao is particularly high, and therefore they cannot be fooled; in that case, what about the other comrades? From the beginning other comrades also quickly saw through the swindle and were not fooled. For those who say they don't believe this, here is an example that can prove this point:

It was also in January of 1979 that Ke, at the recommendation of Yang Yibang, signed a memorandum with the China Petroleum and Natural Gas Exploration and Development Company for providing a \$500 billion loan. Next, the Petroleum and Natural Gas Exploration and Development Company sent a comrade named Wang Zhenhua [3769 2182 5478] to Hong Kong to continue discussions. In this fashion, Ke repeatedly proposed that he be given the title of adviser and empowered representative so that he would use these titles to seek the loan.

At that time Comrade Wang Zhenhua said: "Seeking loans in this fashion does not require the helping hand of other people, and we ourselves can handle everything." Therefore, he refused to give Ke any title and soon afterward severed contacts with him.

The two contrasts are clear-cut. It is very obvious that what Wang Zhenhua and his comrades did was correct, but that Yang Yibang and his comrades, when they were shown the truth about Ke, still firmly believed in him and did not suspect him and still relied on him to seek the loan. Why was this?

Retracing our steps, perhaps it was because they lacked experience. Indeed, for a long time many comrades have had insufficient knowledge about worldly matters, and when having dealings with foreign businessmen, because of their lack of experience, they have suffered a little loss or been fooled a little bit. This is understandable. The correct attitude is conscientiously to study new problems, conscientiously to sum up new experiences. Yang Yibang and his comrades did not do this. If one's knowledge and experience is insufficient, one can consult experienced and knowledgeable comrades and one can conscientiously study and investigate. But Yang Yibang and his comrades, first, did not listen to the advice of other comrades and, second, did not at the very least investigate and study.

When covering and investigating this case, reporters got hold of much data that showed: the other comrades gave many pieces of advice and put up many objections. Time and again, earnestly and with good intentions, they warned: "Be cautious, be careful!" But Yang Yibang and his comrades stubbornly turned a deaf ear and obstinately, clung to their course! They believed more in this Hong Kong "big shot" than in their own comrades. This is indeed extremely rare.

In that case, in the final analysis why did Yang Yibang and his comrades make such serious mistakes and sink in deeper and deeper? For over 2 years reporters have thought and thought about this, and they feel the reason is covered by two words: small interests. First, they did it, not for the

overall interests or the state's interests, but for the interests of this area and this department of the Yanshan Company of Beijing. They considered nothing but the interests of this area and this department. They did not hesitate to damage the state's interests and the overall interests, and even did not care about the state's honor, prestige, or image. Second, they did it for individual interests. Of course, cliquism is just expanded individualism. But, not stopping with this, they vainly hoped that by this they would blaze a new trail, amaze the world with a single brilliant feat, and heighten their own social status. As for coveting property and for taking and demanding bribes, this is an even smaller interest. Thus it can be seen that being blinded by lust for personal gain was the internal logic behind Yang Yibang's and his comrades' taking a mistaken path.

Of course, the interests of a locality or an enterprise must be taken into account. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, one of the goals of our many reforms of the economic system has been to readjust the relationships between the state and the central authorities and the localities, and let the localities and the enterprises receive their due interests and thus give play to their initiative. At present, we still fall short of this goal, and therefore we must persist in our reforms and perfect our reforms. The problem is that, in uniting the interests of the state, the locality, and the enterprise, we must benefit the locality and enterprise but even more benefit the state, and we must benefit the part but even more benefit the entirety and the situation as a whole. In order to unite and coordinate the relationships between those interests, there must be discipline and supervision.

But, in the view of Yang Yibang and his comrades, foreign trade discipline, financial and economic discipline, and foreign affairs discipline, since they united the interests of the whole and the part, were for them a restriction and an obstacle. Could they abide by this kind of discipline? No, they wanted to breach it. Therefore, their repeated violations of discipline were not a question of their having a weak concept of discipline but of them giving no thought to abiding by discipline.

It was precisely because they were driven by these "small interests" that they not only did not agree that Ke was a swindler but even felt that he was a friend who could be trusted! That Yang Yibang could hand over internal letters to this, in his eyes, "big shot" to bring from Hong Kong to Guangzhou was simply a case of "making no distinction between what's one's own and what's another's." This is also not strange, because Yang Yibang and his comrades wanted to blaze a new trail, and this so-called new trail they wanted to blaze, in their plan, needed the support of an overseas "god of wealth." Therefore, they fell into a lamentable single-track way of thinking. When Ke turned up and said that through him they could get a loan from a consortium, Yang Yibang and his comrades did not consider whether this "god of wealth" was true or false, real or unreal. The reason for this was that they plunged headlong into the trap, which certainly was not brilliant, set by Ke and were led astray to the extent that they were unwilling to turn back and would not even admit to themselves that they had been cheated and fooled.

The above-mentioned views were obtained by reporters through coverage and investigation of this case and provide the reader with reference materials. In the final analysis, has the key and crucial point of the mistakes made by Yang Yibang and his comrades been brought out? The answer must come from profound thought on the part of Yang Yibang and his comrades.

However, there is a point that must be affirmed: it was absolutely not because of the open door policy and principle that they committed such mistakes. Without a doubt, the open door policy is a correct policy and principle. Since the third plenary session, by carrying out this policy and principle we have obtained distinct results and there are plenty of outstanding people who have carried out this policy. We must continue to carry it out in the future. The only question is whether it is carried out correctly or in a distorted or mistaken fashion, whether its correct implementation is protected or obstructed. On this point no distortion or misrepresentation is permitted.

9727

CSO: 4005/1309

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF CADRE EDUCATION EMPHASIZED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 82 pp 33-34

[Article by Sha Hong [3097 3163]: "Strategic Decisions On the Education of Cadres"]

[Text] Cadre Education and Intellectual Development

Cadre education is a major problem having relation to the success and failure of our socialist modernization. Its importance and urgency are becoming more and more obvious. In 1978, when Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721] came to the CPC Central Committee's Organization Department to be its director, he laid down the following tasks for the department: 1) to implement policies, 2) to adjust the leading group, and 3) to give good education to cadres.

Our party has always paid great attention to the education and training of cadres, and has very good traditions and experience. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that when cadre education is successful, our enterprise will have great opportunities; otherwise, there will be no future. He stressed that the cadres should learn new and unfamiliar things all the time. As our party has paid serious attention to cadre education, a large number of qualified personnel have been trained and brought up to manage party, military and state affairs. Of course, from our cadre education in the past, we have also learned a lesson and taken a roundabout course. Mainly in the late 1950's and under the "Left" influence of the guiding thought, we could not properly solve the problem of how to transform the revolutionized cadres into a specialized intellectual force. In the 10 years of turmoil, much less could we talk about the education of cadres.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, with the shifting of the focus of party work, cadre education is being restored gradually. Regarding the work of cadre education, the leading comrades of the party Central Committee have given many instructions and stressed the importance of cadre training in documents and reports. In 1980, in his speech on "The Current Situation and Task," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that we should have a force of cadres who persist on the road of socialism and have professional knowledge and skill. Without real ability and learning, we cannot achieve modernization in the four fields. At whatever posts, cadres must have definite professional knowledge and skill; otherwise, they must learn. Those who have

some knowledge and skill must learn more. Those who cannot or are not willing to learn must face readjustment. We must organize and readjust leading groups according to professional requirements, and give play fully to the role of professional personnel. In his speech at the meeting in celebration of our party's 60th anniversary, Comrade Mu Yaobang made the following remarks: At present, we are facing the major task of learning anew. It is the hope of the party Central Committee that all party comrades, and the younger comrades in particular, will brace up, strengthen their party spirit, enhance their political consciousness, acquire more theoretical and practical knowledge, and learn more about management and technology as required by their own occupations and specific jobs. The results of our study will determine the quality of our leadership and work and will have a direct bearing on the progress of the socialist modernization of our country.

As we always say, after the political line is determined, the conditions of the cadres play a decisive role. In our organization work, if we only transfer and use the cadres without giving them training and education, it will not do. The fundamental task of organizational work is to train and educate the cadres, give them new knowledge, and improve their quality in accordance with the party's line and tasks. In our present construction work, we rely mainly on the cadres in service, and thus face the problem of educating and training cadres on their jobs and changing the structure of the cadre force.

Not long ago, Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] pointed out: In the next 20 years, we should greatly strengthen our educational and scientific undertakings. Man's brains cannot be destroyed, not even by the atomic bomb. The political, vocational, technical and cultural training of cadres is an intellectual development which requires very little investment but produces very great results. As a matter of fact, this learning increases latent productive capacity and lays down a foundation for future development. Comrade Chen Yun described cadre education as a kind of intellectual development. This is a great strategic question which was raised by summing up past experiences at home and abroad.

Since World War II, the economic growth of Japan has been promoted by education. Though such high-speed growth is very unusual and conceals unsurmountable internal contradictions, the speed of its economic development is quite fast. Many factors have taken part in this high-speed development. Certainly, intellectual development must have played a fairly important role. After the war, the Japanese Government aimed first at people's intellectual education and then at science and technology. In the United States, some bourgeois theoreticians have also paid serious attention to education. They hold that the quality of people is more important than the number of people, and intellectual investment is more important than material investment. An American source shows that from 1948 to 1969, 41 percent of the increase in national income came from improved technical management and workers' higher techniques.

Generally speaking, our cadre force is good, or fairly good. However, judging from the historical task of modernization which we are taking on, in quality our cadres still have a long way to go. The quality of cadres should be

considered in three aspects: first, political quality, which is basically different from that of any Western capitalist country; second, professional quality, or intellectual quality, which means the professional knowledge and skill of cadres to fulfill their duties; and third, the practical quality of a practical worker who never talks big but can proceed from reality, seek truth from facts, and carry out his specific duty according to the party's line and policies. Knowledge is not entirely equal to ability. Some people have good knowledge but cannot necessarily apply their knowledge flexibly in practice. We have many comrades who possess a practical quality.

At present, the main problem of the quality of cadres is that their intellectual and professional qualities are fairly poor; but this does not mean that they need not be trained to improve their political and practical qualities. They should also improve these qualities; they should study Marxism-Leninism further and use it to tackle new issues under the new situation. In the current situation, we should grasp the improvement of cadres' intellectual quality as a weak link.

The Basic Task of Cadre Education

Recently, the organs under the CPC Central Committee and those under the State Council carried out a structural reform. Soon afterward, the central authorities undertook the work of training and educating cadres, and pledged to make cadre education a regular and normal system, to help cadres improve their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist fundamental theories, their own specific jobs and science and culture, improve their leadership and administration ability, to truly become qualified personnel of the party and the state, who persist in the road of socialism and possess professional knowledge, and to enable all our cadres to meet the requirements for the development of socialist modernization. This is the present basic task of cadre education.

In the work of cadre education, we must set different demands on the cadres in accordance with their different conditions. Without certain specialized knowledge and cultural qualifications, those who work in central organs can hardly suit the needs of the work of leading organs. Particularly after the structural reform, we demand higher work efficiency, better quality of work, and an end to the malpractice of bureaucracy and overstaffing. It is natural to set higher demands on the cadres.

We must conduct the education of cadres according to their characteristics of being cadres and adults; we cannot copy the regular curricula for youth. The cadres are known for their practical experience and good understanding. But past circumstances compelled them either to cut short their cultural study or to forget from long disuse the fairly high cultural education they received. Progressing in an orderly way and step by step is the law of education. It is entirely possible for the cadres to gain certain cultural and professional knowledge with curricula and teaching materials properly selected and compiled according to the characteristics of cadres. In the future, among the cadres of all central organs, the proportion of those having a college education should increase every year; and among the leading groups of ministries and bureaus, cadres having a college education should also constitute a larger

proportion. In short, the central organs will take the lead in the work of cadre education so that they will become not only organs of leadership and administration but also great schools of training personnel. Comrade Zhao Ziyang [6392 4793 7122] has laid very great stress on this issue and has even discussed about what measures to take. Generally speaking, education should be carried out in a social and modern way, through various channels and methods, either separately or collectively. In the work of cadre education, we must not do things in a simple and careless manner. We should set different requirements of study for different persons and for different types of work.

In the curricula of cadre education, the science of leadership and administration deserves serious attention. Many people in this country are carrying out research and hopefully can produce quickly the outline and teaching materials on these subjects in accordance with our requirements. The science of administration and the science of leadership are not entirely the same, as they not only cross each other but each has its respective emphasis. Lenin said that administration requires experts who are proficient in all aspects of production, understand modern high technology of production, and have received certain scientific training. Therefore, the science of administration should be the specialized subject of leading cadres.

Necessary Policies and Systems

To make cadre education a regular and normal system, we must definitely lay down some necessary policies and systems. First of all, we must bring cadre education into line with the whole national economic plan and national educational plan. We must have a long-term plan and also yearly plans. All administrative and vocational departments of education should include cadre education in their own operating plans and management systems. The education of cadres is not only the business of the organizational department, the Ministry of Education and the workers' education committee, but also the business of the party and the state.

Before doing its work well, every department must first train and educate its cadres. In the past, as cadre education was not listed in the plans, there were various problems in the education of cadres. One of the problems was that those who were in a position to make decisions and give commands in their units and were also in most need of education did not undertake study. Another problem was that courses in most need were not provided. If we fail to include cadre education in the plans and regard it as our own business, we cannot solve these two problems fundamentally. All departments should have foresight and be willing to spend some money to train cadres of their own departments and systems.

Next, every 3 years the cadres of central organs should leave office to study for 6 months. After a half-year of study, they can work again. After a period of work, they should go to study again. In the future, this should be the normal system.

Third, we should link the education and training of cadres with the assessment and employment of cadres in order to change the abnormal situation that

it makes no difference whether one studies or refuses to study, whether one studies hard or carelessly, and even that one puts oneself at a disadvantage by taking up study. The present situation has been brought about by the fact that study has nothing to do with employment and promotion. In the future, when we check on cadres, we should check not only their work but also their study. In the employment of cadres, we should take into consideration not only their qualifications and the record of their service but also the standards of their education and training. A system to assess cadres; proficiency must be set up and perfected, the results must be put on record. When a cadre has completed the study of required courses and passed the examination, he will receive relevant credits. Those who have high credits and can apply their learning in practical work should have the priority for promotion and employment among cadres with otherwise similar qualifications. This is a reform of the cadre system.

Fourth, during the period of study, any cadre who has left his job to study should receive the same treatment in welfare and wage increases as those who remain in office. Some cadres who have left their jobs to study and who meet difficulties in living should be properly looked after. The training of cadres is also capital construction, and we should encourage the cadres to study and give them necessary assistance and security regarding concrete problems. The party Central Committee is very much concerned with the middle-aged intellectual cadres regarding their difficulties in work and living, and has determined to solve problems in this field step by step. Comrade Chen Yun holds that this is capital construction within capital construction. Cadre education is likewise a kind of capital construction. We cannot see only material things and not the people; we must recognize the importance of intellectual development to socialist modernization.

Fifth, as regards comrades working in central organs who are college graduates or have received systematic vocational training, particularly those younger comrades who lack practical working experience, we should organize and arrange them, in a planned way, to receive frontline training and gain practical experience. This is also an important policy not to be ignored to improve the quality of our cadres. In the future, our veteran cadres will retire while new cadres will come to fill up the vacancies, so we should pay even greater attention to this problem.

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CSO: 4005/1310

PARTY AND STATE

RECTIFICATION THROUGH IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION CARRIED OUT IN HEILONGJIANG

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jul 82 p 1

[Article: "Pilot Rectification Programs at the Grass Roots Level Organizations in Our Province Have Achieved Results--Do A Good Job in Ideological Education, Improve the Quality of Party Members"]

[Text] Since 1979 our province has carried out rectification in certain grass roots level organizations. Pilot rectification programs have been carried out in 290 units over the past 3 years. This year the pilot programs have been expanded to include 201 party committees (among which are 94 above the level of county or regiment), 276 general branches and 3,707 party branches. 66,464 party members have participated. From beginning to end in this rectification, every area has worked hard at ideological rectification, gotten a firm hold on the key link of party member education and solved the ideological problems of joining the party. Through education, the political quality of party members has been greatly increased, morale has undergone a profound change, the proportion of qualified and basically qualified party members has jumped dramatically and the number of basically unqualified and unqualified party members has clearly fallen.

In this rectification, every area has primarily educated party members in three areas:

The first is to seriously study the line, principles and policies since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and solving problems concerning the maintenance of political unanimity with the Central Committee of the Party. We have dispelled the doubts of certain party members, cleared up a lot of muddled ideas, corrected certain mistaken concepts, and seen to it that the field of vision of party members was widened, that their awareness was raised and that their understanding of ideology was truly unified and improved. According to an analysis of Yabuli Village in Shangzhi County, of 373 party members who took part in the rectification, 142 had muddled ideas about Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought and, for 132 of them, things were made clear; 169 had muddled ideas about what was good and bad and right and wrong throughout the past 32 years and, for 165 of them, things were made clear; and 231 had muddled ideas about the line, principles and policies of the party and, for 222 of them, things were made clear.

The second is to study the "Party Constitution (Revised Draft)" (and later also the "Guiding Principles"), focusing on improving the political quality of party members and solving the three problems of maintaining firm communist beliefs, establishing the goal of whole-hearted service of the people and upholding the standards for communist party members. Through rectification, the party members in Xianfeng Commune in Wangkui County primarily clarified three basic points: the first was that the interests of the party come before all else, that when handling conflicts between party interest and individual interest, one should adhere to the principle of unconditionally serving the interests of the party; the second was that a clear line must be drawn between proper individual interests and ultra-individualism, that it is proper that the party organization show concern for the individual interests of party members, but that party members indulging in individualism is shameful; the third is that wholehearted service of the people is determined by the nature of the party and that scheming for private gain is a reflection of the ideology of an exploiting class. Through study, the broad party members in the Bureau of Light Industry in the city of Jiamusi made it clear that when handling conflicts between the interests of the party and those of the individual, we must maintain three no changes--regardless of time or place, placing the party's interest first does not change; the principles of placing others before self and working selflessly for the common good can not change; and the requirement of hard work before pleasure can not change.

The third is to carry out anti-corruption education, maintaining the purity of communist party members. The pilot rectification programs prior to 1981 primarily set about correcting unhealthy tendencies and teaching party members to preserve the advanced nature of the party. In the Poli County supply and marketing network, 18 of 20 of the leading members of the leading groups at the party committee and branch levels used their authority to one extent or another to engage in unhealthy tendencies. During the rectification they seriously analyzed how these unhealthy tendencies seriously damaged the work of the party and the prestige of the party organization and saw to it that everyone realized that improper party work style is a reflection of the ideology of bourgeois egoism and is totally incompatible with the nature and goals of the party. The problem was that this aspect of education was not approached from the high plane of the struggle against corruption.

This year, from the beginning of the rectification of the grass roots level organizations of the party, every area began with the idea of implementing the spirit of the "Emergency Notice" and other documents of the Party Central Committee and, in combination with attacks on serious criminal activities in the economic realm, carried out penetrating education of party members on opposing capitalist ideological corruption. We must check erroneous ideas at the outset, overcome individualist thinking, seriously remold our world outlooks and forever maintain communist purity.

In rectification each area must pay attention to maintaining the correct educational principles and methods, combining self-education and mutual criticism, combining the raising of consciousness and the solving of practical problems and combining the improvement of education and the fostering of the roles of party members. Everyone recognizes that these methods are relatively good and have been seen to be so through the good experience we have had in rectifying the grass roots party organizations under the new situation.

9705

CSO: 4005/1092

IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS DISCUSSED

Shanghai Results

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 3 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Important 'Capital Construction'"]

[Text] This municipality, in accordance with the spirit of Party Central Committee directives and under the uniform arrangement of the municipal party committee, started in mid-April to conduct an overall inspection of our work regarding intellectuals. Through this inspection we have basically learned of some of the problems encountered by various categories of intellectuals throughout the municipality, improved the understanding of the vast ranks of our party members and cadres with respect to the party's policy on intellectuals, further established close relations between the party and the intellectuals, and thereby enabled the intellectuals to feel deeply the care and trust extended by the party and the state and further inspired their enthusiasm to love the party and the country and to dedicate themselves to the four modernizations.

During the 5 years and more since the smashing of the "gang of four," the implementation of our policy on intellectuals in Shanghai has achieved conspicuous results. We have carried out reinvestigation and rectification in cases of litigation for the intellectuals persecuted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and thrown out all slanderous, fictitious testimony imposed upon them. While restoring leading offices to a contingent of old intellectuals, we have at the same time selected a contingent of middle-aged and young intellectuals and sent them to fill vacancies in the leading groups at various level. Since 1978, the whole municipality has promoted 3,400 professors and associate professors, researchers and associate researchers, and high-ranking intellectuals as well as more than 63,300 engineers, lecturers and middle-level intellectuals. We have readjusted the work of more than 17,000 professional and technical cadres who were not applying what they had studied, solved the problem of couples living separately for more than 10,970 intellectuals, and made some efforts to improve the working and living conditions of intellectuals. But from the standpoint of the overall situation, not a few problems still exist in our effort to implement our policy on intellectuals, and they need to be solved.

From the inspection operations this time, we can see that the key to whether or not our policy on intellectuals is well implemented lies in whether or not our cadres, especially our leading cadres at various levels, have a clear perception of our work regarding intellectuals. Worthy of note is that among some of our cadres, their prejudice toward intellectuals has not been eliminated even up to this day, and some have even complained about our implementation of the intellectuals policy being "excessive." Let us take a look at the facts. In practical work, some units do not pay attention to giving scope to the intellectuals' roles, and nonparty intellectuals who have entered leading groups find themselves occupying offices but enjoying no authority; in some individual units there are even practices of ridiculing, attacking, and finding fault with intellectuals; teaching and scientific research personnel are still occupied with rear service and miscellaneous tasks; rewards to technical personnel in engineering in factories are lower than those granted to workers; some units follow explicit provisions regarding looking after leading cadres of the party and government in housing distribution, but they lack the necessary consideration for the special point that intellectuals are engaged in mental labor; some units tend to be overly critical with intellectuals who ask to join the party, thinking that the family background of these intellectuals is not very good, or, under the pretext of "complicated social connections" and "political and historical problems," refuse to encourage them to join the party. All this serves to illustrate that implementation of our policy on intellectuals is not only not "about right," but is not at all "all right"; not "excessive" but rather "inadequate" in many aspects.

Here we need especially to stress the question of improving the working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals. Today, Shanghai has altogether more than 230,000 middle-aged intellectuals, who make up more than 65 percent of the total ranks of all intellectuals. In the teaching and research offices of some universities, the research offices of some scientific research institutes, and the design divisions of some factories, middle-aged intellectuals even make up more than 80 percent. A great majority of them are those we have trained since liberation; they have received fairly systematic education in cultural and scientific knowledge, they have been repeatedly tested politically, too, and in practical work they are playing a pivotal role; they constitute the backbone force on the various fronts today and for some period ahead. Yet their wages and salaries as well as their housing conditions are generally low and inferior; we are making more use of them but not giving them as much. Some middle-aged intellectuals are now worrying about their knowledge becoming obsolete. In addition, the composition of talent has not been rational, the burden and involvement in nonprofessional undertakings are heavy, and these tend to limit and affect the demonstration of their positive roles. The time for solving these problems has arrived. Several years ago, because of the state's limited financial resources, we mainly concentrated on the implementation of our policy on old intellectuals; during the next few years the state will give priority to gradually improving the working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals. This is an important policy decision of a strategic nature made by the Party Central Committee. If we fail again to seize this opportunity to give full play to the middle-aged intellectuals'

core role and bridge role, we will suffer great losses and bungle great matters!

The "Resolution" issued by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee clearly points out: "It is impossible to build socialism without culture and our intellectuals." Marx called intelligence "the most reliable form of wealth, both a product of wealth and a producer of wealth." The more developed a society, the more socialized its production becomes, and the more important also is the role of knowledge and intellectuals. Helping intellectuals to solve some of their practical difficulties, especially improving the working and living conditions of middle-aged intellectuals, should also be regarded as "capital construction." Only by making a success of this can we speed up the development of our four modernizations.

"All wealth has been created by workers and peasants; how much can intellectuals count?" This view is obviously wrong. The Party Central Committee has long declared that intellectuals are a part of our toiling people. Workers and peasants are indeed creators of our social wealth, but intellectuals are likewise the creators of our social wealth. Along with the development of our modernization, science and technology are both playing increasingly greater roles in the development of our production, and all this cannot be separated from mental labor. At present, 60 percent of the industrial profits and 40 percent of the production increase in many of our cities depend on science and technology. Any thinking and conduct slighting knowledge and intellectuals would be incorrect and harmful.

"They are going to cock their tails again." This estimation is not in accordance with the intellectuals' present overall situation. The fact that the enthusiasm and creativity of intellectuals is not given full play is our main question today. We should follow the spirit of the central policy decisions to adopt effective measures and do a good job of mobilizing and developing the intellectuals' enthusiasm. If we take the already mobilized enthusiasm as a "tail," that would be a demonstration of the "Leftist" prejudice of despising and discriminating against intellectuals, as well as a reflection that the remnant poison of the "gang of four" has not yet been thoroughly eliminated. Party committees at various levels should carry out among party members and cadres education in the party's policy on intellectuals, and put work on intellectuals on their agenda for discussion and examination several times a year. The Party Central Committee has clearly pointed out that mobilizing the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of our intellectuals, bringing their talent into full play and thereby achieving results should be taken as one of the important indicators to ascertain the quality of leadership work of a locality or a unit. Hence, leading cadres at all levels must take their work regarding intellectuals as an important duty. When implementing our policy on intellectuals, we should at the same time ardently look after the intellectuals' political progress, and strengthen our ideological and political work with respect to the various ideological problems they still have. We must urge leading cadres at various levels to make friends with intellectuals, enhance their understanding, initiate talks in general, and help the intellectuals to continue to improve their ideological and political consciousness.

In order to bring the intellectuals' role into full play in our new historical era, party committees at all levels should under present conditions and within possible limits closely undertake to solve the practical problems the intellectuals face. For example, we should actively select good middle-aged and young cadres to enter the leading groups at various levels; through examination, all those who are qualified should be given timely promotion in their technical offices and titles; we should pay attention to raising the intellectuals' academic status and social status, etc. When the solution of certain problems, such as low wages and crowded housing, would create more difficulties, we must rely on uniform arrangement and gradual improvement. In a word, we must not passively wait for arrangement and deployment by the superior levels but should proceed from actual conditions and take the initiative in solving these problems. When conditions are present for solving them, they should be solved right away; when conditions are temporarily not present for solving them, conditions should be created for their solution. Having done this, even if some problems still are not solved for the time being, the intellectuals will understand. We believe that as long as we turn the central policy decisions into actions, the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of our intellectuals is bound to be further demonstrated in making even greater contributions to the cause of our socialist modernization.

Zhejiang Efforts

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Aug 82 p 4

[Commentary by Jiao Huima [3542 1920 7802]: "The Key Lies in Overcoming the 'Left' Designation"]

[Text] In accordance with requirements of the Party Central Committee and under an arrangement by the provincial party committee, during the past few months our province has carried out an overall inspection of our work on intellectuals. Most units have done a serious, effective job. They have proceeded from reality in conducting education among the cadres on the party's policy on intellectuals, enabling them to improve their understanding of the status and role of intellectuals; basing themselves on the spirit of implementing while inspecting the policy in its operations, they have solved certain practical problems for the intellectuals. Thus experiencing the party's care and warmth, the vast ranks of intellectuals have become inspired in their enthusiasm for our socialist construction.

But generally speaking this work can only be said to be a beginning; its progress has been somewhat uneven and still falls far behind the main requirements. In inspecting and implementing their work on our policy on intellectuals, some units and departments have not been able to make further progress, this naturally represents one aspect of their practical difficulties, but the main thing is still a question of ideological perception. Some comrades do not think much of implementing our policy on intellectuals; they regard the intellectuals as having already been elevated a great deal during the past few years and they think there is not much more to be done. They murmur that "the intellectuals are very difficult to deal with, because their desires are

a bottomless pit which can never be fully satisfied." From these comrades' point of view, the status of intellectuals is already high enough, and their salaries are good enough, and there is basically no necessity to implement any special policy on intellectuals. This perception both fails to accord with our actual situation and violates the party's policy. From the problems revealed in the inspection of our work on intellectuals this time, we can see that some fine middle-aged and young backbone cadres are still suppressed in their respective places and are not able to play their role very well; not a few fine intellectuals are not brought into the party; political conclusions about certain intellectuals still leave a tail, and in their files there are still unsubstantiated data. As for the difficulties in their work and their lives, these are even more numerous. In a word, our work in implementing the policy on intellectuals is not completely fulfilled and many things remain to be done.

In order to accomplish well the inspection of our work on intellectuals from beginning to end, we must first of all overcome the erroneous ideas of the "Left," remove our biases and prejudices about intellectuals; we must carry out a reeducation of the cadres and the masses regarding the party's policy on intellectuals and enable everybody to really understand; the vast ranks of our intellectuals, like the workers and peasants, are forces on whom our socialist construction depends. Without the intellectuals, our four modernizations cannot be realized; this is like lacking armed forces in wartime, without them we cannot possibly win victory in a war. Therefore, at present and for a long period ahead, implementing our policy on intellectuals and doing a good job in our work on intellectuals is an important task; it is required by the party and the people; it is required by the four modernizations; it is a strategic measure of profound significance.

We must also see that in past years the vast ranks of our intellectuals have been subjected to persecution and have suffered all kinds of wrongs; they could not expect fair treatment, and they have traveled a bumpy, zigzag road. Despite this, they still love the party and their socialist motherland, working diligently and selflessly. Their reward has not been commensurate with their labor; this has been especially salient in the case of middle-aged intellectuals. We should take the initiative to protect them, look after them, and warmheartedly help them solve their difficulties so as to enable them to work with even more concentration and devotion and make greater contributions to our four modernizations.

In this regard, units like Zhejiang University, Hangzhou Institute of Electronic Engineering, and Zhejiang Institute of Chinese Medicine have done a relatively good job. They have conscientiously studied the series of directives issued by the Party Central Committee on the question of our intellectuals, continued to overcome the influence of "Leftist" ideas, recognized the important position occupied by intellectuals in the four modernizations, and taken the implementation of our policy on intellectuals as the greatest policy of their respective institutions. With such profound understanding, they put the inspection of their work on intellectuals high on the agenda of their respective party committees and, in respect to their intellectuals,

made a point of fully trusting them politically, using them boldly in their work, and ardently looking after their living conditions. In this way, they were able to do their work penetratingly and meticulously and solve problems in time. Thus, they further built closer relations between the party and the intellectuals, and mobilized the enthusiasm in work on the part of the vast ranks of intellectuals, so that it has been possible to launch various work projects of these institutions sooner and their teaching and scientific research results have been eminent.

To sum up, the inspection of our work on intellectuals should begin first of all with heightening our ideological perception and overcoming the influence of the "Left." Once our thinking becomes pertinent, relevant methods present themselves, and policy can thus also be readily implemented. If we entertain an attitude of catering to an official assignment, performing under order, and passively responding to the situation, we will be unable to do things well, and the inspection of our work on intellectuals is bound to be perfunctory.

'LIAONING RIBAO' Commentary

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 82 p 2

[Commentary by Yu Shichang [0151 0013 2490]: "Rain Must Be Dispensed After Thunder--Looking at the Potential of Implementing Our Policy on Intellectuals From Three News Items"]

[Text] The party and the state are right now beginning to improve the political treatment and living amenities of middle-aged intellectuals; to those intellectuals over 40 years of age this is really like being caressed by the spring wind. "A good rain always knows the best time, it chooses the spring to come forth"; leading cadres of not a few units are "dispensing rain" in time and doing their best to change intellectuals' working and living conditions. But there are also comrades who brag entertainingly at meetings, yet sing a song about "difficulties" afterward. The masses call this "hearing only thunder but seeing no rain."

GUANGMING RIBAO recently published three news items in succession: The first item reported that Xiong Shide [3574 0013 1795], who graduated from Tongji University and was assigned to work in Qinghai in 1961, had twice been denied opportunities to have his wages adjusted, and even his engineer title was considerably delayed in being appropriately appraised because he expressed his views to the leadership. Only when the provincial governor intervened later was he promoted to the post of engineer. The second item reported that the Keshan County party committee in Heilongjiang Province at one time decided that the various systems under its jurisdiction could raise their own housing construction funds; when the farm machine division implemented this on a per capita basis, it prescribed that the average housing construction expenditure for division chiefs was to be more than 5,000 yuan each, whereas that for engineers was to be only 1,200 yuan. After a leader of the county party committee discovered this, he had the allocation changed through some personal

effort, so that an engineer and a division chief were treated equally and priority was also granted to engineers in having housing allocated to them first. The third item reported that the Tianjin Dining Appliances Plant No 5 originally decided to allocate housing according to the number of family members and similar conditions; technical personnel did not rate any consideration. Later, the plant leaders cited the intellectuals' special contributions to the workers and determined that, in allocating housing, the nature of the contribution must also be considered. As a result, three technical personnel were allocated housing.

These three news items indicate that when our policy on intellectuals is implemented, the various departments and units may dispense both thunder and rain; their potential is very great. In our implementation of the policy on middle-aged intellectuals, certain problems involve many concerns and the work is therefore rather complicated; once leading comrades personally come forward to engage themselves in the solution of difficult problems, such work can always achieve results. Today's problem is that the enthusiasm of certain comrades in implementing our policy on intellectuals still has not been demonstrated; they have a bias in varying degrees toward intellectuals and lack an understanding of the great role intellectuals can play in our four modernizations; hence they tend merely to do some propaganda work and issue appeals; as for concrete work, they are sorry, they have to ask others to do it. From this, we can see that to tap potential we must first of all tap that of leadership work; once the leading comrades all have enthusiasm and a sense of urgency in implementing our policy on intellectuals, then the working situation will be very different. There is also potential in the various departments and units implementing our policy on intellectuals, and they are by no means all unequal to their assignments. But some comrades wait passively for the superior level to allocate funds and materials to them; otherwise they get nothing done. Today, relying on their own strength, many units have already done quite a lot of work and solved certain problems of intellectuals so that they don't have to look back while engaged in their work. If we turn our glance downward instead of upward, many approaches will present themselves to us. Even if some things are found to be hard to achieve temporarily, there is still great need for political care in seeking to make explanations like a close friend.

Implementing our policy on intellectuals, especially middle-aged intellectuals, concerns the fundamental interests of the state and the people. If we have the enthusiasm of both the party and the state as well as that of various departments and units, our policy on intellectuals can indeed be fully implemented.

9255

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

REFORM OF EDUCATION IN PHILOSOPHY PROPOSED

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3, 82, pp 28-29

[Article by Gao Qinghai [7559 3237 3189], professor of the philosophy department of Jilin University: "My Suggestions on Reforming Education in Philosophy"]

[Text] The reform of education in philosophy consists mainly of handling the following three relationships well: relationships between basic education and professional education, between intellectual education and aptitude training, and the relationship of theory and history to the current situation. Although within the framework of education in liberal arts, these three topics have something in common, they occupy special positions in education in philosophy.

Before graduating from the philosophy department, students must build a broad and solid philosophical foundation which qualifies them to meet the needs for the continued development of our socialist construction program. Education in philosophy is a work designed to deal with problems facing various divisions of study and even various trades and profession. Following 4 years of education in philosophy, only a very small number of students can be hired by the philosophical research institutes to engage in narrow philosophical research work. The majority of graduates will devote themselves to education in philosophy, or education in philosophy-oriented theory, or related research and propaganda work, at universities and other research institutes, in party and government organizations or even at factories and enterprises. This a matter of objective reality as well as a normal development.

Since all trades and professions are in need of people to advise them on the Marxist world outlook, the philosophy departments must be devoted to the training of the talent needed to help our country raise its Marxist philosophical and theoretical levels. In considering a special education program, we cannot merely rivet our eyes to the needs of the philosophical research institutes for such talent. The more we do so, the narrower the road ahead of us will become. If we consider the situation as a whole, we must first concentrate on basic education, which provides a basis for us to consider whether special study programs should be strengthened. Special education in philosophy covers many divisions of study. Before graduation, philosophy students must build a foundation which will enable them to conduct research,

education and propaganda projects associated with these divisions of study, as dictated by the needs of their work. Even a senior student must first lay a philosophical foundation in general before proceeding to concentrate on a specific area of study. Basic philosophical education consists of three courses: basic theory, basic philosophical principles and basic philosophical knowledge. Although, at present, these three courses are being taught in different ways, they all face a specific problem. Let me first discuss the third category of basic courses. Education in philosophy covers a wide range of basic knowledge, including natural and social sciences, and the science of reasoning. How to enable students to have an effective grasp of these most necessary fundamentals to meet the needs of education in philosophy in a few years is a problem that cannot be easily tackled. Take basic knowledge of natural sciences for example. Basic knowledge in this respect required of majors in philosophy is not the same as majors in sciences. Majors in philosophy must strive to acquire an overall command of all branches of study. In addition to coming to grips with theoretical fundamentals, they must understand the latest achievements in these fields. The contents of these courses must be concise and should not be allowed to take up too much of scheduled school time. This is a problem that cannot be easily handled. We cannot offer philosophy students courses in mathematics, physics and astronomy, as we do majors in sciences. This is a long-standing question to which no effective answer has been found. As an answer to this question, I would like to suggest that teaching materials required to meet the needs of education in philosophy be compiled and teachers dedicated to this special form of education be trained. At present, some schools have made available to students a course in the general concept of the history of scientific thinking, a course that is deemed absolutely necessary. The existing teaching staff must be strengthened in order to make it a success. Apart from this, forums on specific subjects of study must be provided. Since this is a problem that is beyond the ability of any single institution of higher learning to solve, I hope that the Ministry of Education will organize institutions of higher learning to take concerted action to address to this problem.

Courses in basic theory and philosophical fundamentals such as philosophical principles, history of Chinese and Western philosophies, and classic Marxist-Leninist works are undoubtedly very important branches of study, and therefore should be strengthened. What efforts can be made to strengthen them? I think this is at the core of the problem. At present, there is a growing tendency to add hours to sessions scheduled for education in philosophy on the assumption that additional sessions must be scheduled in order to strengthen education in philosophy. Such requests for additional sessions in philosophy stem from the swelling of its content. Once the additional sessions are approved, the content is certain to swell again. By going into this cycle, we would make such basic courses lose their original nature and functions, and their contents duplicate one another, thus bringing unnecessary additional burdens to students. Basic courses must be treated and taught as basic courses. Efforts must also be made to make them function like basic courses. Answers to certain philosophical questions in special courses should not be allowed in basic courses. Sometimes, unnecessary elaboration will not produce good results. Once the content becomes complicated, the lines become hazy and the tenets of philosophy become unnecessarily scholastic. In this

way, it is not possible to strengthen basic courses in a true sense. As seen from the current teaching programs, generally speaking, too many sessions have been scheduled for basic courses, and time allocated for each has been unnecessarily extended. Efforts must be made to cut the number of such sessions, along with the length of time allowed for each of them. Cutting the number of the sessions does not mean lowering the quality of education, but raising it. Meanwhile, some of the content of the study program can be shift to elective courses so that students will still learn as much as they can. Although the study program appears to be cut in quantity, it is actually strengthened by making adjustments to a variety of subjects of study.

The relationship of theory and history to the current situation is mainly a matter of concern which must be handled in accordance with the education-oriented guiding thought, and in connection with the arrangements for the contents and the scheduling of courses in these subjects of study. We must attach importance to the three equally important aspects of education, and we must schedule them in a well-organized and well-coordinated way. For years, we have noted a tendency to "give undue emphasis to history, and little attention to theory and fear touching reality." In the eyes of many people, history ranks foremost, and theory is at the bottom of the ladder. Under such circumstances, many people have shifted their interest to history, one after another, while practical philosophical issues have begun to lose their popularity. Of course, this situation is created by many factors. Whatever the factors, the trend in which a large number of students who have graduated from the philosophy department have shifted their interest to history while losing interest in theoretical studies and practical problems will tend to hamper the development of courses in philosophy, and therefore should be reversed. At present, a survey of the contents of education in theory, as seen from the fact that majors in theory know nothing about history while majors in history know nothing about theory; when they reluctantly try to forge a link between the two, they can hardly touch the depths. A survey of the arrangements for courses also shows that the theoretical theme in certain elective courses is out of proportion to other themes, and its quality is inferior to that of the historical theme; the subject of study of practical problems is even not touched upon, thus leaving a blank to be filled. Although the conference on liberal arts held in Wuhan in 1978 adopted a social survey program as part of a resolution on education, the reality is that it has never been effectively implemented. The lack of funds and difficulties investigators have encountered in society have made it impossible for them to carry out any systematic investigation in a well-planned manner. Particularly noteworthy is a lack of teachers specializing in the study of theory and method of social survey. This shortage of teachers trained in this field will naturally lead students to conduct surveys without objectives in mind. Problems of this kind must be solved. Otherwise, students who have graduated from the training will find themselves unable to measure up to the needs of the development of the socialist construction program. If this situation is allowed to develop, the consequence is not hard to predict. I hope that the Ministry of Education will hold a special meeting to study and solve this problem.

How to handle properly the relationship between intellectual education and aptitude training is a universal problem which seems more important to educa-

tion in philosophy, whose fundamental purpose is to apply Marxist philosophy which is a combination of scientific views of the universe, epistemology and methodology as a vehicle to develop viewpoint and method which can help students analyze and solve problems in a scientific way. This fundamental purpose of education in philosophy cannot be achieved unless students are capable of transforming all necessary knowledge they have acquired into viewpoints and methods which can help them survey problems and into a theoretical process of thinking. Students must strive to build this capability through the study of theories, and must lay a foundation for this purpose during their college years. This is a problem which involves the contents and methods of education, and in the final analysis, a problem which gives food for thought guiding education. During the past several years, classroom teaching has been conducted as an important link in education and an entirely necessary step in strengthening education in philosophy. In the past, we have inherited many good methods and good experiences in theoretical education. Today, these excellent traditions are under the threat of being thrown away due to our failure to emphasize them adequately. Efforts must be made to stop this trend. An example in this direction is discussion which is an excellent method for inspiring intellectual power through the execution of theoretical education. We can come to grips with theory by coordinating education in theory of world outlook with the endeavor to change the world outlook. Everyone should display a bold spirit to stress the need to "change the world outlook." If we fail to change the world outlook, how can we comprehend and come to grips with dialectical theory with a metaphysical method of thinking? This trend has been widespread among students (and some teachers) today. On the basis of concentrating on classroom teaching as a link in education, we must attach importance to other links in education. Only in this way can we help students stimulate their enthusiasm for study, and increase their ability to think over, analyze and solve problems independently.

9574

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

SURVEY REVEALS INCREASE IN NUMBER OF COLLEGES, STUDENTS

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3, 82, Mar 82
p 21

[Article: "A General Survey of Institutions of Higher Learning in China in 1981"]

[Text] In 1981, China had 704 institutions of higher learning (including 518 universities and colleges, and 186 junior colleges, up 270 from the level of 1965 and 29 from the level of 1980).

1. In 1981, the institutions of higher learning throughout the country, including colleges and junior colleges, enrolled 278,800 freshman students and graduated 139,600 students; their student population was 1,279,500 (including 1,060,700 4-year college students and 218,800 2-year college students), up 11.9 percent from the level of 1980.

The number of students enrolled in each of the following departments and their percentage are as follows: The department of engineering had 461,300 students who made up 36 percent of the total; the department of agriculture had 78,800 students, 6.2 percent; the department of forestry had 13,600 students, 1.1 percent; the schools of medicine and pharmacy had 159,000 students, 12.4 percent; normal colleges had 321,500 students, 25.1 percent; the department of liberal arts had 69,100 students, 5.4 percent; the department of sciences had 99,800 students, 7.8 percent; the departments of finance and economics had 47,900 students, 3.7 percent; the departments of political science and legal affairs had 10,000 students, 0.8 percent; the department of physical education had 11,200 students, 0.9 percent; and the department of art had 7,300 students, 0.6 percent.

2. The faculty members of the institutions of higher learning totalled 666,300. Among them were 249,900 full-time teachers, up 3,000 from the level of 1980. Of the full-time teachers, 5,037 were professors, 21,421 were associate professors, and 126,965 were lecturers.

9574

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INTEGRATING PARTY, MODERN HISTORY COURSES IN SCHOOLS

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No. 4, Apr 82
pp 5-8

[Article by Hwang Meilai [7806 5019 0171] "The Teaching of Chinese Communist Party History and Modern Chinese History Should Be Integrated"]

[Text] At present, it is necessary to carry out reforms in political theory courses in the areas of course curriculum, teaching materials, course coordination, and instructional methods. How do we bring about these reforms? It will not do to proceed merely from general reasoning, nor will it suffice to proceed from partial experiences of the past. We must proceed from the actual ideology of the students, in order for the reforms to achieve results. Our integrating the teaching of party history with the teaching of modern history is one example.

Viewed from the general trend, the ideology of the current generation of students is sound. They are rich in ideals, bold in their innovations, lively in thought, diligent in their learning, and eagerly hopeful that the motherland can rapidly realize the four modernizations. However, due to their relatively young age and to their having grown up during a turbulent era, they cannot but carry with them the characteristics of that era in their thinking. Not only do they lack the experience of the old society, but they also are without any pre-"Cultural Revolution" experience; not only do they lack basic general political knowledge, but they do not have any basic historical knowledge, either. These deficiencies have caused some of our young students to develop nebulous and erroneous ideas regarding the four fundamental principles. Some students harbor doubts in their hearts and feel that the idea that the Chinese revolution must be led by the Communist Party and that socialism is the inevitable course of history are all Communist Party propaganda. Some even say: "That China has not resolved her problems is because China has not passed through the historical stage of capitalism; China ought to make up for this one lesson in capitalism now."

We are of the opinion that the reasons for the development of the above-mentioned ideas are manifold. Among them, one main reason is that the students do not understand the history of China. Many people have not yet understood from history how the Chinese revolution developed so that it can only be led by the Chinese Communist Party and how it can only go down the socialist road.

To counter such a situation, we feel it is necessary to add to the course on the "History of the Communist Party" a section of materials on modern Chinese history of the period prior to the creation of the party and, through lively and concrete historical facts, enable the students to understand the developmental process of the old democratic revolution and its regulated pattern, and make clear the historical inevitability of Chinese Communist Party leadership and China's going down the socialist road. In this manner, as we come to introduce studies on the history of revolutionary struggle after the establishment of the party, the students will find the teaching more acceptable. In 1979, we set up test points in some departments. After the summer vacation of 1980, we made these changes across the board in classes in party history. Experience over the past 2 years demonstrates that this reform has been successful. Minimally, it has obtained comparatively good results in the following three areas:

First, the reform has enhanced the students' understanding of the four adherences, particularly adherence to party leadership and to the socialist path.

Modern Chinese history certainly constitutes good educational material for carrying out instruction of the four fundamental principles among young students in the aspect of the laws of historical development. In modern history, ever since the encroachment of imperialism in 1840, which turned China into a semicolonial, semifeudal society, people of every social strata and every political persuasion put forth various plans and paths in attempts to solve China's contradictions. History has dealt them just conclusions and appraisals and summarily has made it clear that Chinese Communist Party leadership is a historical choice and that assuming the socialist path is a historical imperative. A classmate in the chemical engineering department wrote in a brief conclusion: "Studying modern Chinese history leads one to see clearly that China's taking the socialist road is not something purposely arranged or conjured up by certain people but is the summation of experience of several decades of collision, bloodshed, and sacrifice. Let's try to take a look at the many different plans: The absolute egalitarianism of the petty bourgeoisie, constitutional monarchy, capitalist reform, the capitalist republic, etc., all failed to work. Only socialism is the inevitable course of history." Another classmate in the mechanical mathematics department wrote in his brief conclusion: "These past several years I have often heard people arguing that the capitalist system is better than the socialist system, and complaining that China has not experienced capitalism. This is all because they do not understand history. Through a study of modern Chinese history, we can clearly see from the failure of Kang Youwei's reformism, the abortive attempt of the 1911 Revolution, and the series of events which took place thereafter that the plan of a capitalist republic will not work in China."

Through studying modern history, many students--seeing the failure of the Taiping Revolution led by the peasant class, the bankruptcy of the Hundred Days' Reform led by the bourgeois reformists, and the eventual miscarriage of the 1911 Revolution led by the capitalist revolutionary clique--further realize that for the Chinese Communist Party to lead the Chinese revolution is the "comparison of the classes," the "choice of history," and the "demand of the

times." By studying modern Chinese history, they also learn from the Taiping Revolution, the Hundred Days' Reform, and the 1911 Revolution that whether revolutionary movements were led by the peasants or by the bourgeoisie, the subjective reason for their ultimate failure was their own inherent class-restrictive nature, which rendered them incapable of correcting errors and overcoming the difficulties caused by their own restrictiveness and thus resulted in eventual failure. Using the technique of class analysis, students learned that although the proletariat and its vanguard ranks also made mistakes during the revolution, the proletariat and its political party have been fully capable of utilizing their own strength to surmount difficulties, correct errors, and continue to advance the cause; such knowledge has also strengthened the students' confidence in party leadership.

The above-mentioned situation makes it clear that, through lively historical facts, rich historical experience, and the gradual introduction of the historical pattern in the necessity to firmly uphold party leadership and take the socialist road, we will make the material more readily acceptable to the students. Some students said to the teachers: "The teachers not only tell directly how great the Communist Party is and how wonderful socialism is, but the historical accounts and experiences of modern history you mention also enable us to understand the truth of the need to follow firmly the party's leadership and to take the socialist road." This explains that the students have begun to acquire an understanding of the four fundamental principles in light of historical materialism. The classmate who originally thought China ought to make up for a lesson in capitalism eventually wrote in his conclusion: "In studying modern Chinese history, I realize that it is not China which should make up for a lesson in capitalism. It is we young people who should make up for a lesson in modern Chinese history."

Second, the study of modern history heightens the patriotic consciousness of the students.

Modern Chinese history is a history of struggles, patriotism, and anti-imperialism. During the period of more than a century, prominent sons and daughters of the Chinese people shed their blood and sacrificed their lives for the independence and prosperity of the motherland. Their tragic and heroic deeds have deeply moved the hearts of the young students. Many students are determined to take these patriotic, noble-minded people as their models to uphold the glorious tradition embodied in "In the rise and fall of a nation, every man bears a responsibility," and to contribute their capabilities to the four modernizations. One student wrote in his final paper: "If the chief expression of patriotism at that time lay in the launching of a brave, unyielding, persistent, anti-imperialistic, antifeudal struggle for the independence, wealth, and prosperity of the motherland, the expression of patriotism today should lie in the struggle for the realization of socialist modernization of the motherland and the revitalization of China." One student wrote: "I thank the school and the teachers who have unfolded a corner of our mother's clothing, revealing the scattered bloodstains and multiple wounds. They have stirred up ripples on the calm waters of university life and have stimulated patriotic zeal in my heart." "Motherland, don't you know how grieved and outraged your son is when he knows of the devastation

you have suffered! Today, bearing this knowledge in mind while launching our troops toward the four modernizations, we will enable thousands and millions of people, particularly those of the younger generation, to strengthen their will to realize the four modernizations."

Patriotism is the ideological foundation for the firm adherence to the four fundamental principles. Today, anyone who truly loves the motherland and wishes her strength and prosperity will certainly follow the party in taking the socialist road. Socialism is the home of true patriots. In today's China, a young person who truly loves the country must also necessarily love the party and socialism. Prior to the time of the "Cultural Revolution," the ideological development and growth of intellectuals were generally summed up into three stages: From the ideological awareness of patriotism to the development of socialist awareness and to still further development in the establishment of a world view of communism. It appears that these three stages still constitute the ideological developmental pattern of today's intellectuals. Because of this, some students have brought forth the proposal: Modern Chinese history ought to be a required course for the Chinese people.

Third, the study of modern history creates the conditions for those below to study the history of the party in leading the people in the revolutionary struggle. At the same time, it enhances the students' interest and enthusiasm in taking political theory. Some students wrote down their thoughts in this area in their briefs, while others wrote directly to the teachers expressing their views. One student from the department of automotive studies wrote: "One is still required to take the political theory course upon entering college. Having no alternative but to comply, I decided to do some "personal work" during the political theory class. The first time I brought along the unfinished diary of the previous day. However, upon the conclusion of two class meetings, I found that what was recorded in the diary were actually the thoughts generated from listening to the teacher's lecture on modern history. ...Since that class meeting, I devote my whole attention to the political theory class, feeling that the recess bell rings too soon. I am afraid that I haven't been this serious in attending the mathematics class." Furthermore, as one student from the physical engineering department wrote to the teacher: "Respectful teacher: We freshmen in physical engineering enjoy very much listening to your lively lectures. ...We are so eager to gain more social knowledge. ...Now there are some people who talk about their dislike of the political theory class and blindly suggest abolishing it. I think this is wrong. We dislike dead, inflexible political dogma. What we desire is a lively, enlightening political theory course."

In teaching the history of revolutionary struggle, as we come to the period following the establishment of the party, we have appropriately modified and enlarged the scope of instructional materials on party history. Deviating from past practice, when we only taught the history of line struggle within the party, we have added to the course content certain introductions and analysis on the various aspects of the enemy, our allies, and ourselves. These changes are in accord with the ideological realities of the students. For example, in lecturing up to the period of the 10-year civil war, in the past

we would at the very beginning open with lectures on the circumstances and nature of the revolution following the failure of the great revolution; the three uprisings; and continue with how our party, following the failure of the great revolution, found the only correct road for the development of the revolution--the road of the Red regime--while barely mentioning the regime established by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927. It was permissible to instruct this way in the past, because the students were knowledgeable about the reactionary nature of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. There was no doubt in their minds that such a regime had to be overthrown. Today's students do not have the advantage of comparison between the old and new societies, nor do they have basic historical knowledge. Therefore we must first of all help them to recognize clearly the reactionary nature of the Chiang regime. Right at the beginning we emphasize in our teaching the antirevolutionary regime established by Chiang Kai-shek after the "12 April" coup, exposing from the political, economic, military, diplomatic, and various other perspectives the fact that the regime established by Chiang Kai-shek between 1927 and 1932 was a traitorous and dictatorial regime, plagued by internal strife, which had to be overthrown. Upon the foundation of this understanding, we proceed with the lectures on the theories and practice of the Red regime.

Take another example. As we come to the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, realizing that some students are quite ignorant about the reasons for fighting Japan, we will add a class which specifically reveals and analyzes Japanese imperialism and the savageness and ruthlessness of the war of aggression it launched, letting the students know that not resisting Japan would have led to the demise of the nation and to extinction of the race, and that to steadfastly fight the war of aggression was the only way out for the Chinese people.

There are some advantages in broadening the content of party history, incorporating it into modern Chinese history, and introducing and analyzing the situation with regard to the enemy, our allies, and ourselves from political, economic, military, and cultural perspectives. First, it enables students to gain a deeper understanding of the historical experience, line, general and specific policies of the party; second, it employs the method of comparative studies, as we did in the study of the history of the period of the old democratic revolution. During the period of the new democratic revolution, through comparisons between ourselves and the Kuomintang, bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, various factions and political representatives, we enable the students to understand why the Chinese revolution must be and can only be led by the Chinese Communist Party down the socialist road.

Mentioned above are some of the reforms we have launched in our "History of the Communist Party" course. The main point is to combine the teaching of party history with that of modern history, adding to the course a section of modern history and broadening the content of party history. The duration and frequency of class meetings should also be modified, based on necessity. Of course, these reforms were formulated according to the actual ideological situation of enrollees in the past 2 years. Hereafter, if the teaching of high school history has been intensified and high school students are all able to systematically learn Chinese and foreign history (including modern Chinese history) well, we will need to reconsider the methods of conducting party history education based on the new situations at that time.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STRENGTHENING PROPAGANDA WORK IN MINORITY AREAS EMPHASIZED

Commentary on Efforts

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by SICHUAN RIBAO commentator: "Efforts Must Be Made To Strengthen Propaganda Work in Areas of Minority Nationalities"]

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, further efforts have been made by our province to strengthen propaganda work along with other work under the guidance of the party's correct line, principles and policies. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that following their circulation and implementation, the guidelines of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee have proved instrumental in leading party organizations in areas of minority nationalities to attach greater importance to propaganda work, to take bold steps to assume responsibility in case of emergency, and to uphold principles essential to the development of the two civilizations. Although the current situation on the propaganda front is excellent, under the impact of certain historical factors and the 10-year turmoil, the propaganda front serving areas of minority nationalities in our province has found itself unable to meet the need for the development of the four modernizations program and to satisfy the demands of minority nationalities. For this reason, successful steps must be taken further to promote propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities.

In a nutshell, the key objective of propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities at present is to arm the minds of cadres and people of all nationalities with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to help them increase their communist consciousness, and to stimulate their political zeal and enthusiasm for production and for serving socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. To this end, vigorous efforts must be made to convey to the public the essence of the communique of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and to mobilize cadres and people to welcome the triumphant convocation of the 12th party congress with practical actions. Efforts must be made to continue to convey to the public the Central Committee's and the provincial party committee's principles and policies on the development of the economy. Further steps must be taken to enforce the production responsibility system in all forms until it becomes a perfect and stable institution which is instrumental in bringing

economic prosperity to areas of minority nationalities as quickly as possible. Extensive efforts must be made to develop and publicize the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activity; and no effort should be spared to build a socialist spiritual civilization, and to persist in educating people in communist ideology. Vigorous efforts must be made to pay tribute to the advanced, to foster a new lifestyle, and to break with or change the obsolete conventions and old customs and habits. Efforts must be made to transform the people of this generation into new people with ideals, morality and culture and conscious of the need to abide by discipline. Efforts must be made to strengthen the development of culture in areas of minority nationalities in order to satisfy the urgent needs of people of minority nationalities for cultural activities. Effective measures must be taken to raise their scientific and cultural levels while steps must be taken to strengthen the education of party members and cadres, strengthen unity among the people of all nationalities, and mobilize them to provide active and better services for the development of the four modernizations program.

The key to success in promoting propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities lies in constantly helping cadres at all levels raise their awareness of the importance of these areas to our nation. The areas of minority nationalities constitute an important, inalienable and integral part of our beautiful motherland while the people of minority nationalities are indispensable members of a big family composed of people of all nationalities in this country. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "China considers the people of minority nationalities indispensable to its growth. There are numerous minority nationalities in China who live in an area larger than that inhabited by the people of Han nationality, an area which abounds in material wealth. The minority economy is indispensable to our national economy." For this reason, in the course of developing the four modernizations program, any discriminatory attitude in the work dealing with the area of minority nationalities including propaganda and cultural work is wrong. To strengthen propaganda work and to develop cultural activities in areas of minority nationalities call for bringing two initiatives into play. On the one hand, the area of minority nationalities must rely on their own efforts, count on their own resources in every possible way and work hard to bring their superiority into play, while on the other hand, the provincial level departments, especially propaganda and cultural departments, must be mentally prepared to make contributions to the areas of minority nationalities, and do everything possible to give them strong support and assistance until the common endeavor to promote propaganda work there bears fruits.

The successful implementation of propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities calls for continued efforts by comrades on the propaganda front to emancipate their minds, and to display a cheerful spirit, enthusiasm and a high sense of responsibility on behalf of the party's cause. If we are determined to achieve success in developing the areas of minority nationalities, we can certainly help the propaganda department there open a new front, and raise the quality of its work to a new level.

Conference Held

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 1

[Article: "Sichuan Holds a Conference on Improving Propaganda Work in Areas of Minority Nationalities"]

[Text] From 4 to 11 August, the propaganda department and the propaganda work commission for areas of minority nationalities of the provincial party committee held a joint conference in Xichang to discuss propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities.

Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, attended and concluded the conference with a report. Responsible comrades of the propaganda department and the propaganda work commission for areas of minority nationalities of the provincial party committee attended and spoke at the conference. This conference on propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities was the first of its kind ever held in Sichuan since liberation. The conference conveyed important speeches by leading comrades on the Central Committee. As a result of study and discussion, the conference made clear that the key objective of propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities is to arm the minds of the broad masses of cadres and people with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to increase their communist consciousness, and to stimulate their political zeal and enthusiasm for production and for the development of the two civilizations. The conference also emphasized the need to carry out the following major tasks: First, vigorous efforts must be made to convey to the public the guidelines of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and practical action must be taken to welcome the triumphant convocation of the 12th party congress. Following the opening of the 12th party congress, successful efforts must be made to organize a study and propaganda campaign, to arm the minds of cadres and the masses with the spirit of this congress, and to translate its guidelines into practical action. Second, efforts must be made to continue to convey to the public the essence of the related documents issued by the Central Committee and the provincial party committee, further steps must be taken to enforce the rural production responsibility system and sum up related experiences until it becomes a stable and perfect institution, further efforts must be made to stimulate the enthusiasm of the masses for expanding production. Third, vigorous efforts must be made to strengthen the building of a spiritual civilization, and to further develop the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activity in a way that takes into account the actual needs of areas of minority nationalities, to educate people constantly in the "three loves" under socialism and the four basic principles. Fourth, vigorous efforts must be made to strengthen the building of cultural facilities in the countryside, and successful efforts must be made to develop education as a matter of first priority.

The conference maintained that the successful implementation of propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities calls for: (1) taking into consideration their special characteristics and actual conditions and adoption of methods that conform to the local conditions, methods which will

result in raising the levels of the quality of propaganda work; (2) strengthening the building of a propaganda contingent composed mainly of workers of minority nationalities; (3) active efforts to occupy the ideological and cultural positions and to develop in every possible way propaganda and cultural activities. The conference emphasized that the key to success in promoting propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities lies in further strengthening the leadership of the party over the work dealing with areas of minority nationalities; the propaganda department should bring its role into play as an advisor to the party committee on the ideological front; comrades on the propaganda front must continue to emancipate their minds, do everything in high spirits, keep in close touch with reality and conduct study and investigations as part of a conscientious and effective effort to understand and guide the ideological activities of minority nationalities; they must study new situations, solve new problems, blaze a new trail and open a new path to the future as a great contribution to propaganda work in areas of minority nationalities.

During the conference, comrades were greatly elated by the news on the communique issued by the Seventh Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. They all pledged to welcome the convocation of the 12th party congress with great political zeal and practical action. The conference was attended by more than 120 persons including responsible comrades of prefectural, county and municipal propaganda and cultural departments in Garze, rba. Liangshan and Leshan Prefectures inhabited by the people of minority nationalities and of provincial level departments concerned.

9574

CSO: 4005/1335

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR ADULTS--In 1981, there were 1,346,300 adult students in institutions of higher learning throughout the country, down 207,800 or 13.4 percent from the level of 1980. Among them were 268,000 radio and television university students, down 56,400 or 17.4 percent from the level of 1980; 49,100 students in institutions of higher learning for workers and peasants, including 48,640 workers and 4,600 peasants; 58,730 middle school teachers who were performing on-the-job training at colleges. [Text] [Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 3, 82, Mar 82 p 9] 9574

CSO: 4005/1243

FRIENDS OF DISSIDENTS REPORT ON CURRENT MAINLAND SITUATION

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 9 Sep 82 pp 28-31

[Article by Jiang Peng [3263 2590]: "Dialogue With Friends of Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing"]

[Text] I went to Beijing on a pleasure visit with a young friend of mine from Guangzhou. In Beijing this veteran Red Guard encountered many "old comrades in arms." One evening, we unexpectedly met with several friends of Wei Jingsheng and Liu Qing, and talked with them about the new situation pertaining to Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing, and others; the three crises on the mainland--the political, economic, and moral crises; and the 17-year consequences of the 10 years of calamity and the three possibilities for future change in China. Below is the main content of our conversation:

Host: The people of Hong Kong are very interested in our democracy movement within the country!

Guest: The Hong Kong press has reacted very quickly to the democracy movement on the mainland, and to some extent it has also reflected the city residents' interest in the democracy movement.

Host: What are some of the things that the Hong Kong press has reported?

Guest: Almost all of the articles by Wang Xizhe, Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing, and Xu Wenli, as well as the important articles on Xidan Democracy Wall, have been published by the Hong Kong press.

The Spirit of Martyrs

Guest: What is the latest news about Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing, and the others?

Host: In China, other people cannot contact these "enemies." Only their family members can see them and deliver necessary things to them. Wei Jingsheng's father long ago took him to be a counterrevolutionary and denounced him as such before his arrest. His girlfriend Peng Ni is very good to him but has not seen him recently. Zhao [6392] X has become responsible for TANSUO, and he is the author of the poem "For You..." which

appeared on Xidan Democracy Wall. This person has a lot of literary talent, his thinking is liberated, and he is fairly radical. However, Zhao X has been subjected to a great deal of pressure from the Public Security Bureau--both soft and hard--and he has now simply changed into another person: dejected, pessimistic, disappointed. He frequently holds dances in his home and hangs around with youths of shady character. The change in him is particularly longstanding, possibly because the ideological struggle was too fierce. His girlfriend says she wants to "sever relations" with him, and some fairly upright young friends of his have also become estranged from him.

Guest: Liu Qing's "Notes From Prison" caused very big vibrations in Hong Kong. Many newspapers and periodicals strove to be the first to publish it, and also sold it in separate editions.

Host: The price paid for transmitting out "Notes From Prison" was the arrest of Liu Qing's younger brother Liu Nianchu and TANSUO's editor Lu Lin.

Guest: How did the Public Security Bureau know?

Host: It looks like somebody installed bugging devices in their homes. In fact, we people have been put under close surveillance by the Public Security Bureau. However, we are not engaged in any untrustworthy activities, we are not engaged in plots or subversion, so we are not afraid.

Guest: In foreign countries, bugging is a crime. Nixon even lost the presidency because of the Watergate bugging.

Host: But in China security personnel can exercise "dictatorship" over the common people, and all freedoms are sham promises in the constitution. Public security personnel can open your letters, and they can photograph your activities with long-range lens cameras. For them, installing a bugging device is nothing.

Guest: The youths striving for democracy have extraordinary courage.

Host: The great majority of them are people who are ready to give their lives to the democracy movement in the spirit of "martyrs." Many of the viewpoints expressed in the articles written by Wei Jingsheng, especially his article "Do You Want Democracy or a New Dictatorship," have been exchanged between us, and everybody holds identical or similar views. At the time they were written, some of us thought that such things should not be written and such tactics should not be pursued, and the controversy over this was very fierce. But Wei thought that the masses should be told the real situation and he did not shrink from sacrificing everything. His prediction was basically borne out by subsequent facts. Liu Qing took himself right to the doorstep by going to the Public Security Bureau "to defy the law." The Public Security Bureau was put into an extremely awkward position by his refutations and was unable to answer them. But they still exercised "dictatorship" over him. Many articles written by Wang Xizhe used the viewpoints of Marxism to analyze the question of China and the communist movement. What crime was there in that? Why do the public security personnel arrest these kind of youths again and again?

Guest: I have read almost all of the articles by these young people. Their viewpoints are not all alike, but how commendable is their spirit of seeking truth. Putting these young people, who dared to think and speak, into prison will be a great loss to our nation. (When I said this I could not hold back tears in my eyes.)

Host: The spirit and articles of these people are not only admired by everybody, but even in prison many convicts treat them as heroic figures. If Liu Qing had not been helped and covered by other convicts he would not have been able to write "Notes from Prison" in the prison where he was under close surveillance and he would have had no way to get the article out for publication.

Of course, the youths in the democracy movement are made up of good and bad people jumbled together, and also of the dregs of society. Yang Guang and Yu Yi are people of this ilk. After Wei Jingsheng was arrested, Yang Guang still wrote articles that foolishly called on people to take up arms, but in the court in which Wei Jingsheng was tried he cooperated very well with the court and put all the blame on Wei Jingsheng. This person was acquitted. Yu Yi is the author of the poem "The Imperial Palace Is Far From the Chairman's Hall." After being released from prison, he obtained special consideration, so it is thus obvious that he cooperated very well with the Public Security Bureau.

Cooperation Between Reform Faction and Democratic Faction?

Guest: Wang Yizhe holds certain view. He thinks that one day the reform faction, within the party faced with attacks by the "whatever faction" and the opportunist-bureaucrats, will go forward hand in hand with the youth democratic faction as well as the intellectuals and the broad masses of people. Do you think this is possible?

Host: China's rulers have always used two methods to protect their authority and position. One method is to display changing moods, being fickle and crafty, so that their subjects will be at a loss as to what to do; the other method is to preach to the common people, coercing you into believing in the ruler's dogma. Old Mao carried on this way. Old Mao slapped himself in the face, saying this one time and that another time. He said he wanted things to be open and aboveboard and did not want anyone to engage in schemes and intrigues, but it was precisely he who continually engaged in schemes and intrigues, saying they were "open plans." He used the Red Guards to make rebellion and strike down his opponents, not hesitating to wreck the entire party and state. After his goal was attained, if the Red Guards rebelled against the "revolutionary committee" whose establishment he had sanctioned, they were said to be rebelling against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and were sent to prison. Today the tricks of certain people in the CPC are very much the same as Old Mao's. When they wanted to deal with the "whatever faction," they used the democracy movement inherited from the "May 4th" movement, saying that the masses had been given this right by the constitution and that they had no right to oppose this. But, after the "whatever faction" was basically overthrown, they put on another face, saying that "speaking out

freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big-character posters" had never played a positive role. One after another, Wei Jingsheng, Liu Qing, and Ren Wandong have been arrested and jailed. Wang Yizhe cannot escape from the same fate. This action by these people in the party truly chills the hearts of the common people of China. The power of the "whatever faction" is still not small, and it is possible that they will join forces with those whom Wang Xizhe calls opportunist-bureaucrats and early in the morning some day pounce on the reform faction within the party after being beaten back by it. This danger exists. However, the democratic forces and the broad masses of people cannot place too big a hope on the reform faction within the party. When striving for cooperation with them, the democratic forces and the broad masses of people must be on the alert for a "change" in them. The democratic forces and the broad masses of people must not just play the part of their tools, but must maintain independence and motivate them to develop in a good direction.

From "Three Curses in Confidence" to "Three Big Crises"

Guest: Do you think there has been a turn for the better in China's "three crises in confidence"?

Host: We do not see any sign indicating a turn for the better. We think that China now not only has "three crises in confidence" but also that the situation has developed to a point where it faces "three big crises": political crisis, economic crisis, and moral crisis. What is the political crisis? It is the existence of the "three crises in confidence" and the existence of the danger of the "whatever faction's" launching a counter-offensive to retrieve lost ground. Because the reform faction within the party has not thoroughly overthrown the idol of Mao Zedong, the "whatever faction" at any time can attack Deng Xiaoping with some things that Mao Zedong said during the Cultural Revolution, saying: you are a revisionist and China's Khrushchev. This viewpoint has a very big market in the armed forces and in those who have vested interests in the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, once the high-ranking person ascends to heaven, trouble could break out. The economic crisis is obvious. It should be said that the economic situation is much better than it was during the period of the "gang of four." But this year's budget financial deficit is 2.7 billion yuan. The foreign and domestic debt is over 10 billion yuan, and in fact this is also a financial deficit. Because of these things, income must be obtained to repay them. What will be used to repay the deficits? Workers pose this question: The cost of producing a watch is about 10 yuan and it sells on the market for about 100 yuan; the cost of producing a bicycle is between 10 and 20 yuan, and it sells on the market for between 100 and 220 yuan. In both cases, the selling price is 10 times the cost. Where does the money used to buy these things go? Part of it is squandered or gained by graft by the bureaucratic special-privilege social stratum. And isn't part of it taken to support the group of Pol Pot, that murdering prince of devils? Some people say that exploitation has not really been eliminated. In that case, where is the enthusiasm of the workers to come from? If workers are not enthusiastic, production will not rise. So how can the financial deficit be reduced? How can debts be repaid? When the times come, an economic crisis will erupt. The moral crisis is one of the sequelae of

the Cultural Revolution. There is this doggerel: "People in the fifties decade helped people, people in the sixties decade rectified people, people in the seventies killed people, and people in the eighties decade watch out for everyone." Some people who spout communist ethics turn out to be thieves and prostitutes, people who scramble for power and profit, people who make false charges against each other, and people who are corrupt and degenerate. High officials read "Dream of the Red Chamber" and learn from Jia Baoyu to have affairs with women, and some even have affairs with the wives of their sons. When a son's wife gives birth to a child, people ask: Is it the father's child or the son's child? I have seen with my own eyes the sons and daughters of two high-ranking cadres take drugs. The drugs had been smuggled in from HONG KONG. After taking the drugs, they said complacently that it was as if they had no bodies and only their spirits remained, and that they felt extremely strange and extremely satisfied. Capitalist society has drugs, they said, so how can we be without them here? If the capitalist society did not have drugs, we would have them here. Isn't this a moral crisis?

Restoration of the Spirit of the Fifties Decade Is a Blind Alley

Guest: Some people think that at the beginning of the fifties decade the CPC was a good party and was supported by the people, and that if the traditions and way of doing things of that time were restored China would change for the better. What is your view?

Host: Most of us do not hold this view. Actually, the 10-year calamity of the Cultural Revolution was a consequence of the 17 years preceding the Cultural Revolution and cannot be separated from those years. If the spirit at the beginning of the fifties decade was so splendid, why was there in 1957 the free airing of views and the "antirightist struggle"? At that time Lin Xiling maintained: "The socialism we have now is not true socialism." "True socialism should be very democratic, but what we have here is not democratic." "The present ranking system is a more terrible class system than the slave system." "The crisis that now exists in the party is that the veteran party members have become degenerate and the new party members have become opportunistic." Chu Anping pointed out the "party domination" and Zhang Bojin brought up the "rustication in rotation" issue, opposing one-party dictatorship and individual autocracy. Which one of these problems brought up by the "rightists" at that time has been solved? If Old Mao had not come up with a "plot" but rather had gladly received this "bitter but good medicine," then there would have been no Great Cultural Revolution, and there also would not have been the democracy movement symbolized by the "Tian'anmen Incident" and Xidan Democracy Wall.

Trying to restore the rule of the fifties decade would be like going down a blind alley. If it were done badly, there is a possibility that acts of rebellion fiercer than those in the Cultural Revolution would be set off.

Was the Cultural Revolution the Punishment for the Preceding 17 Years?

Guest: Are you saying that the Cultural Revolution was not a "10-year calamity" but was the continuation of the "free airing of views" in the fifties decade"?

Host: In its initial period the Cultural Revolution was, essentially, a movement in opposition to the special privilege rule of feudal bureaucrats, and was the general eruption by the masses of 17 years' discontent with the way they were ruled. Most of the "capitalist roaders" opposed by the Red Guards were brave men in the "antirightist struggle" of those years. This movement was used by Old Mao to retaliate against his opponents, and it led to evil ways. However, it greatly heightened the consciousness of the masses causing them no longer to have blind faith in the Communist Party, no longer to believe in Mao Zedong, and not to fear bureaucrats. This ran counter to Mao's desire. Precisely because of this, the "Tian'anmen Incident" broke out on 5 April 1976. This was the masses' own great cultural revolution without Old Mao leading it. And the "Beijing Spring" movement of Xidan Democracy Wall was the true continuation of the "May 4th" movement.

The "10-year calamity" was precisely the punishment for 17 years of rule. We must summarize the lessons of the "10-year calamity," and first of all we must summarize the cause leading to the Cultural Revolution. This was the fact that the special-privilege rule of the feudal bureaucrats led to strong dissatisfaction on the part of the masses and produced acts of rebellion. However, the Red Guards mistakenly, under the leadership of Mao Zedong himself, were led into evil ways. Finally they discovered: If any great personage is not supervised by the masses, he will ultimately betray the people. That is why the "Tian'anmen Incident," in the name of mourning Premier Zhou but in fact opposing the contemporary Qin Shi Huang, erupted.

The Cultural Revolution pounded the CPC ideologically and organizationally. It is now extremely difficult for this party to regain the prestige it enjoyed in the past. If the reform faction within the party wants to carry out effective reforms, it will ultimately have to join forces with the democracy movement of the masses. There is no hope of restoring the spirit of the fifties decade--it is doomed to failure.

In the Kuomintang period before liberation, the musician Shu Mu composed a strange song. Now, circulating among the people are many doggerels satirizing the current political situation. There is one doggerel that children like the most: "Eat milk, drink bread. Pick up briefcase on train, put down briefcase and walk north, see people bite dog. Pound stone with dog, stone takes big bite out of me." This is a new "strange song" that obviously expresses popular feeling.

A Broken Generation and a Reflective Generation

Host: After getting in touch with us, what are you feeling about China's youth?

Guest: I think you are commendable youths who think of the important affairs of state. With such youths, there is surely hope for the country.

Host: Have you read the article "A Brief Discussion of the Development of Lu Xun's Thinking" written by Li Zehou of the Philosophy Research Institute? (Host: This article was published in the book "History of Modern Chinese Thought" by the same author.)

Guest: I have not read it.

Host: In the sixties, Li Zehou was one of the three major talents in Beijing University. Of these three persons, one was executed by shooting, one became insane or committed suicide, and only he is active. In this article, he divides the intellectuals since Zhang Taiyan into seven generations: Zhang Taiyan's generation, the "May 4th" movement generation, the Great Revolution generation, Lu Xun's generation, the Liberation generation, and the sixth generation is the generation of Red Guards in the Great Cultural Revolution, while the seventh generation will be that of a completely new historical period. He thinks that the vast majority of the Liberation generation (the fifth generation) was full of innocence and zeal and looked forward to embracing the revolution. They were devout and docile, given more to repentance than to exercising their intellect, but, being placed in a stifling environment, both internally and externally, for a long period of time, they did not accomplish much. The outstanding members of this generation, after witnessing and personally experiencing all sorts of things, gave careful consideration to some fundamental problems. The sixth generation (the Red Guard generation) grew up and matured in an environment of vicious struggle. Leading tortuous lives after they thoroughly understood the reality of the misery in society, they quickly woke up to the fact that they had been duped and cheated. The spirit of bravery and creativity lost by the former generation began to revert to the sixth generation, and they again shouted in resounding voices in opposition to feudalism. They will be a bridge toward and a hope for the future.

The facts are truly like this. Many of us were Red Guards in those years, and, from personal experience, we saw China's problems and the way to explore and solve these problems. Part of our generation has truly become "a broken generation" and the other part is truly "a reflective generation." Neither believing in gods or fearing devils, they bravely explore. They have made all sorts of sacrifices for their ideals. Yu Luoke and others were executed by shooting; and Wei Jingsheng, Wang Xizhe, Liu Qing, Ren Wanding, and others are still in prison. History's judgment will be that these foresighted persons were heroes of our nation, not criminals.

Three Ways That Spur Change

Guest: How do you see China's future?

Host: We feel disappointed. The enthusiasm that exploded when the "gang of four" fell from power has gradually cooled. But we are optimists. We believe the tide of history is irresistible. The existing state of affairs in China will eventually change. There are three possibilities that will impel change.

The first possibility is that the CPC becomes completely rotten and there is no way for it to effect reforms. In that case, there will appear a Polash-style situation and the masses will turn to one or several organization like the Solidarity trade union and force the CPC to effect reforms, or it is possible that the masses, driven beyond their forbearance, will set off a new storm like the "Tian'anmen Incident," or there will appear acts of rebellion by the masses like there was in the early stage of the Cultural Revolution. We hope this situation will not occur.

The second possibility is that the leadership and rank and file will get together to change the present state of affairs. That is to say, the reform force within the CPC and force of the broad masses who demand reform will coordinate and work in concert to effect reforms. When the "practice faction" toppled the "whatever faction," things were done in this way. At present this possibility seems small, but with a change in circumstances it could become big.

The third possibility is that many sons and daughters of high-ranking cadres and young intellectuals, on returning from study abroad, will have learned good experiences in other countries and will effect domestic reforms.

In short, the present state of affairs in China is better than it was in the period of Old Mao and the "gang of four." But some bureaucrats and elements who enjoy special privileges are rigid, decadent, and incompetent. They will not be able to rectify people, arrest people, and kill people as was done in the past. "Hanging up a sheep's head and selling dogmeat"--trying to palm off something inferior to what is purports to be--will also fool nobody. We hope that reforms will be effected by the leadership and the rank and file getting together to do it. This is the relatively best way.

Guest: What hopes have you for the people of Hong Kong?

Host: We hear that representatives of Hong Kong's university students went to Beijing and Guangzhou, where they expressed support for our struggle for democracy. We are deeply touched by this. We thank them and we thank our compatriots in Hong Kong. Before long, it will perhaps be our turn to go to prison. We appeal to the university students, young friends, and broad masses in Hong Kong to vigorously shout for us! Shout for us!

The eyes of each of our hosts were brimming with tears, filled with earnest hope. After leaving them, the sound of their emotion-filled voices continued to echo in my ears.

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